

## OKINAWAN STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE 1970s

### General Characteristics

In reviewing Okinawan Studies as a whole in the United States, it comes as no surprise to learn that to Americans at all concerned with Okinawa, the single most important event during the decade of the seventies was the reversion of Okinawa to Japan. A survey of thirty-eight leading American magazines over the ten-year period 1970 through 1979 yields the following statistics:

Okinawa-Related Articles in 38 U.S. Magazines, 1970-1979		
Year	Number of Articles	Percent
1970	5	6
1971	18	23
1972	21	28
1973	5	6
1974	4	6
1975	18	23
1976	2	3
1977	1	1
1978	2	3
1979	1	1
Total	77	100

The year with the highest percentage of articles on Okinawa (28%) is 1972, the year Okinawa reverted to Japan. Following this are

1971, the year prior to reversion, and 1975, the year of the Okinawan Marine Exposition, each with 23%. Almost all of the articles which appeared in 1971 and 1972--51% of all articles on Okinawa over the ten-year period--are related to the reversion, indicating extensive American interest in the return of Okinawa to Japan.

By far the majority of papers and articles discuss the 27-year American administration of Okinawa and the reversion issue from the perspectives of political science or journalism. From the very beginning, American interest in Okinawa has been primarily military and political. Accepting the fact that the history of the U.S. occupation of Okinawa itself is an integral part of the history of U.S. military affairs and foreign relations, it is natural that Americans would be interested in such questions as how the administration of Okinawa began, how it was carried out, and how it ended, as well as in the compatibility or incompatibility of American democracy and American rule over a foreign people.

The direction of Okinawan Studies in the United States has been determined to a considerable extent by the availability of English language resources. Historically, diplomatic documents were written in Chinese and Japanese, and domestic documents, in Japanese. The official written language of Okinawa is Japanese. While a number of documents are available in English to scholars conducting research on political or other aspects of the U.S. administration of Okinawa, in other areas, there is very little in the way of English resource materials. Researchers must rely on difficult Japanese sources, and this greatly hinders historical and other studies which must use documentary evidence. A number



of doctoral dissertations are discussed in this article, and it is important to note that generally speaking, most dissertations in areas other than political science--in anthropology or history, for instance--were written by researchers who have either Japanese or Chinese as their native language. From this it is apparent that the language is a hindrance to research. If Okinawan Studies is not to end up the exclusive domain of Okinawan and Japanese scholars, at least the most basic documents must be translated into English.

A distinctive feature of Okinawan Studies in the United States is the involvement of Americans of Okinawan descent. An excellent example is that of the Hawaii Okinawan community, the largest and oldest of its kind in the United States. Over eighty years have passed since the first group of immigrants reached Hawaii in 1900. Building on their long prewar experience at the lower end of the social ladder, Okinawan-Americans quickly moved up after the war to advance in many directions. With prosperity came confidence, manifested by the Okinawan community over the past few years in a new interest in and appreciation of Okinawan history and culture as well as the immigrant experience itself. However, with the Pacific War marking the transition point, English has now replaced Japanese as the first language of Hawaii's Japanese and Okinawan communities. Because the young people may speak Japanese to a degree but have difficulty reading and writing it, students interested in Okinawa are only able to utilize English sources in pursuing their studies. But as mentioned above, with the exception of the few fields for which English sources exist, there is virtually nothing available at present for the researcher without a command

of Japanese.

#### State of Research in Specific Areas

Turning to publications on Okinawa, we have first a series of pamphlets published from 1970 through 1973 by Shannon McCune, a former administrator with the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyus, who is presently at the Department of Geography, University of Florida. These pamphlets, published under the heading Research and Information Papers, Ryukyu Islands Project, number twenty-three titles: (No. 1) "A Proposed Research Project on Agricultural Changes in the Ryukyu Islands," 14 pp., May 1, 1970; (No. 2) "A Bibliography of Useful English Language Materials on the Ryukyu Islands," 16 pp., Nov. 1, 1970; (No. 3) "The Ryukyus: Islands in a Strategic Location," 17 pp., Dec. 1, 1970; (No. 4) "The Ryukyus: Islands in Transition," 24 pp., Dec. 15, 1970; (No. 5) "Progress Report on a Research Project on Agricultural Changes in the Ryukyu Islands: Geographic Aspects," 19 pp., Jan. 1, 1971; (No. 6) "Basil Hall Chamberlain's Writings on the Ryukyu Islands," 15 pp., May 1, 1971; (No. 7) "'The Luchu Islands and Their Inhabitants,' The Geographical Journal, 1895 by Basil Hall Chamberlain," 33 pp., June 1, 1971; (No. 8) "Notes on Basil Hall Chamberlain's 'The Luchu Islands and Their Inhabitants,'" 23 pp., May 1, 1971; (No. 9) "Migration from Hamahiga Island by Tomonari Ishikawa," 26 pp., Jan. 10, 1972; (No. 10) "The Islands of the Ryukyus," 30 pp., Jan. 20, 1972; (No. 11) "The Senkaku Islands," 21 pp., Jan. 30, 1972; (No. 12) "George Jones' Account of the Geology of Okinawa, 1853-1854," 37 pp., Feb. 10, 1972; (No. 13) "D.S. Green's Report on the Agriculture of Okinawa, 1853-1854," 18 pp., Feb. 10, 1972; (No. 14) "James Morrow's Observations



on the Agriculture of Okinawa, 1854," 31 pp., Feb. 10, 1972; (No. 15) "C.F. Fahs' Account of Okinawa, 1854," 14 pp., Feb. 10, 1972; (No. 16) "Geographical Papers on the Ryukyu Islands," 28 pp., Nov. 1972; (No. 17) "Fishing Activities in the Ryukyu Islands," 28 pp., Dec. 1972; (No. 18) "Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu: A 1785 Account of the Ryukyu Islands," 60 pp., Nov. 1972; (No. 19) "Civilian Casualties in the Battle of Okinawa by Norman D. King," 11 pp., Nov. 1972; (No. 20) "The Geologic Base of the Ryukyu Islands," 19 pp., April 1973; (No. 21) "The Physiographic Regions of the Ryukyu Islands: Okinawa," 26 pp., April 1973; (No. 22) "The Physiographic Regions of the Ryukyu Islands: Sakishima," 26 pp., April 1973; and (No. 23) "The Climate of the Ryukyu Islands," 37 pp., April 1973.

These pamphlets, comprising introductions to research materials as well as research reports, discuss the nature of research in Okinawan Studies up to the time the pamphlets were written and the available research materials. The pamphlets, in xerox editions of 300 to 400 copies, were distributed to libraries and researchers in the field of Okinawan Studies. McCune continued his work on one of the above titles, (No. 5) "Progress Report on a Research Project on Agricultural Changes in the Ryukyu Islands," and in 1975, published *Geographical Aspects of Agricultural Change in the Ryukyu Islands*, University Presses of Florida, 86 pp. In the same year, McCune also published *The Ryukyu Islands*, David and Charles, Newton Abbot in Great Britain and Stackpole Books, Harrisburg, U.S., 200 pp., one of the Islands of the World Series published for young children. It is simply written, but unfortunately here and there highly technical terms have crept in and place name spellings have

not been consistent.

Professor McCune also contributed a brief 3-page article entitled "The Ryukyu Islands: Geographical Aspects of a Change in Sovereignty," to the September 1972 issue of the *Journal of Geography*.

Professor Ishimine Tomotaka, Economics Department, California State University at Long Beach, presented a doctoral dissertation to the University of Michigan entitled, "Japanese Tariff Preference and the Okinawa Sugar Industry," Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1972. McCune praises Ishimine's work, which uses predominantly Japanese sources, for including a wealth of important data. Also in 1972, the Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii, published *Pura Mutuzuma: Archaeological Work on Miyako Island, Ryukyus*, 163 pp., by Kaneko Erika and Herbert Milichar. In this study, the authors report on the significance of pottery shards, clearly of local manufacture, lying beneath the stratum of porcelain shards of the Early and Middle periods, Southern Sung and Yuan periods.

Although not published in the United States, certain to be of interest to American scholars is a paper by Cornelius Ouwehand, professor at the University of Zurich, entitled "Rain Ritual on Hateruma," *Etudes Asiatiques*, XXVI (1972):10-42. This paper is a study of the religious and sociological nature of the rain ritual on Hateruma, one of the smaller islands of the Ryukyus.

In 1974, Masako Tanaka presented a doctoral dissertation in anthropology to the University of Rochester entitled, "Kinship and Descent in an Okinawan Village," 367 pp. This excellent thesis, eminently readable, yet precise and exhaustive in its



analysis, is a valuable contribution to Okinawan Studies. Written following the author's site research in Inoha Village, Motobu-cho, northern Okinawa, it seeks (1) to investigate the nature of significant social units: household, descent group, bilateral kindred group, neighborhood, and village; (2) to discover the ideology of kinship; and (3) to describe and analyze kinship terminology. One noteworthy feature of the dissertation is the author's denial of the commonly held view of Okinawan society as having evolved from a matriarchate. She states that there is a strong patrilineal bias with emphasis on primogeniture, the non-equivalence of male siblings, and complementarity of male and female siblings. The thesis may be criticized however for the weakness of its historical overview of Okinawan society, and in addition, the question of how typical a model Motobucho represents within Okinawan society remains unclear. The author does state that Inoha is a "commoner's village" in northern Okinawa, but leaves unanswered such questions as how this differs from a gentry village and how villages in the north differ from villages in the central and southern parts of Okinawa. Furthermore, she makes use of "customs, beliefs and native categories and institutional arrangements as indices of social relationships," which strikes one as leaning a bit heavily on the side of social determinism.

In 1976, Richard Pearson of the University of British Columbia published an article entitled "The Contribution of Archaeology to Japanese Studies," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 11:2 (Spring 1976):305-327, in which he took issue with the view that the Ryukyu Islands were an avenue for the introduction of southern cultural

elements into Kyushu. Around the same time, Pearson, assisted by co-author Bernard Sō, published a mimeographed survey entitled "Western Language Sources on the Ryukyu Islands, 1945 to 1973," n.d., 16 pp., which recorded some 250 entries. The following year, Mitsugu Sakihara presented a paper entitled "Satsuma-Ryukyu-China Trade during the Rokugawa Period," at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies held in New York on March 25, 1977.

In May of 1977, Eiichiro Tomoyose presented a doctoral dissertation in social science to Syracuse University entitled "Geographic Environmental and Archaeological Modes of Understanding Historical Events: The Case of the Ryukyus," 311 pp. The aim of the thesis is to show the importance of geographical factors in Okinawan prehistory and history. For example, it researches how such factors as the geographical placement of Okinawa with respect to surrounding countries, climatic conditions, topography, geology, and living organisms are related to Okinawan history and what influence they exerted. Although I can concur with many of the minor arguments and with individual chapters, the thesis as a whole leaves one with the impression that it is poorly tied together, perhaps because the author tries to bring together too many diverse factors spanning a period from 3000 BC to the present.

#### Research Trends in Specific Fields

I would next like to discuss Edwin Pak-wah Leung's "China's Quasi-War with Japan: The Dispute over the Ryukyu Islands, 1871-1881." This doctoral dissertation, submitted in 1978 to the University of California at Santa Barbara, is one of the few



historical theses on Okinawa written outside of Japan, and its subject is directly related to problems appertaining to the abolishment of the Ryukyu kingdom presently of great interest to Okinawan scholars. Making free use of Chinese sources, the author views from the Chinese side a question heretofore discussed from the Japanese or Okinawan perspective. The thesis numbers 335 pages, certainly not overly long, but the 165 pages of bibliographical sources nearly equals the total length of the thesis' content. Chapter I discusses the historical background, while Chapter II deals with Japan's challenge to the tribute system and its dispatch of troops to Taiwan. Chapters III and IV discuss China's response, negotiations between China and Japan, and General Grant's mediation of the problem. Chapter V is concerned with the two countries' respective interpretations of the draft of the 1880 treaty and examines the reactions of the two. Finally, Chapter VI discusses "The Significance and Effects of Quasi-War."

The author has added an appendix consisting of a table of Chinese warships prior to 1880 and a table of court ranks in the Ryukyu kingdom, but in reading the work in its entirety, it escapes me why the author found it necessary to include these two tables. The voluminous bibliography lists around 900 works in English, German, French, Japanese, and Chinese, including a large number which are completely unrelated to the subject and which do not illuminate it in any way.

The thesis follows the reasoning that the Ryukyu kingdom was a suzerainty of China, but Japan tricked China and forcefully annexed the Ryukyus. The author's main substantiation for this

is his own unique interpretation of the terms of the 1874 peace treaty, a treaty established when Japan requested compensation for the murder of fifty-four Ryukyuan on Taiwan in 1871. China initially refused to accept responsibility for the incident, but when Japan sent an expedition to Taiwan, China reversed herself. The treaty does not refer in writing to the Ryukyuan people, but only to "the subjects of Japan." According to the author, the Chinese took these "Japanese subjects" to be the four members of the Oda clan who were shipwrecked on Taiwan in 1873, the year prior to the treaty. The Japanese, however, Leung states without offering any evidence, cagily transferred this definition of "Japanese subjects" from the Oda clan members to the Ryukyuan. Certainly "Ryukyuan" are not referred to in writing in the text of the treaty. However, there is a "treaty contract" set forth outside the main body of the treaty, the first item of which being that "China will pay 10,000 tael to the surviving family members of the *Japanese subjects who were murdered*" (Charles S. Leavenworth, *The Loo Choo Islands*, 1905. Appendix, p. 28 [italics added]). The treaty terms also state clearly that the English consul Wade obtained the agreement of the two parties, Japan and China, on this point. Since none of the four Oda clan members shipwrecked on Taiwan in 1873 were murdered, presumably the murdered "Japanese subjects" could only have been the fifty-four Ryukyuan. This obviously the case, it is apparent that Leung's thesis could have stood further research.

Walter Andrew Guntharp, who formerly served as an active duty officer in the U.S. Army involved in the administration of the



Ryukyus, was also connected with the planning for the reversion of Okinawa to Japan. After the reversion, he returned to school to major in political science at George Washington University, where he presented his dissertation, "United States Foreign Policy and the Reversion of Okinawa to Japan," 212 pp., 1973. He traces the political developments leading to Okinawa's reversion to Japan and then attempts to elucidate what influence the reversion had on U.S. security policy in the Far East. Although from its title the dissertation would seem to address foreign policy, it deals instead more with security policy. In a word, it is a report by a professional soldier who sees Okinawa and Japan in the context of the American military presence in the Far East. He regards American policy as being compromised between annexation and reversion and as troubled by the weaknesses inherent in both alternatives.

According to the author, the return of Okinawa did noticeably weaken U.S. military capability in the Far East but, on the other hand, there will probably be an increased buildup of Japan's military strength in the future. Japan will probably have a nuclear capability, but will not support U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. As far as Japan-U.S. relations are concerned, Japan is adopting an opportunistic policy with no particular sense of gratitude towards the U.S. Taking a long-range view, Guntharp sees America in the process of losing a strategic struggle in Asia, the return of Okinawa being one factor leading to this reversal.

Overall, this dissertation has no continuity. It is very weak in research giving the Japanese perspective and it relies one-sidedly on U.S. data. Moreover, it is seriously lacking in any

understanding of the Japanese or Okinawan perspective. The author gives no historical background on Okinawa and thus there is no clear distinction between Okinawa and other territorial possessions of Japan. There is little empathy towards or analysis of Japanese policy, which is all the more amazing since the author supposedly worked in the Ryukyu administration.

In 1977, Frederick L. Shiels presented a doctoral dissertation in political science to Cornell University entitled "The American Experience in Okinawa: A Case Study for Foreign Policy and Decision-Making Theory," 547 pp., 1977.

In this study, Shiels examines the Okinawa problem from three different perspectives--i.e., in terms of bilateral (U.S.-Okinawa), trilateral (U.S.-Okinawa-Japan), and overall global security--and analyzes what influence each of these perspectives had on decision-making about Okinawa. The author finds that at least until the mid-60s, bilateral (U.S.-Okinawa) considerations were emphasized far more than tripartite U.S.-Okinawa-Japan considerations, and that it was not until after the Kennedy administration that Japan's influence became stronger and policy changed to become trilateral. The global security perspective was important throughout the post-war era. Too often, however, this was seen as the primary and dominating issue, which it was not. Having presented the three perspectives above, the author selects five major episodes to evaluate the validity of theoretical propositions on foreign policy decision-making. These episodes are the 1948-49 Truman National Security Council decision to contribute to the socio-economic vitality of the Ryukyus as a part of a general military build-up,



the 1950-51 decision to allow Japanese residual sovereignty, the 1960-61 decision to liberalize American rule, the 1967 decision to promise action on the Japanese request for the return of the Ryukyus, and the 1969 decision to commit the United States to the reversion of the Ryukyus within a specified time.

Though I really am not qualified to comment on the theoretical propositions of political science, in my opinion, viewed as a whole, the thesis is well organized and clearly thought out. Shiels has interviewed many important figures, including officials, scholars, and journalists from Japan, the U.S., and Okinawa, and some information is here made public for the first time.

Another doctoral dissertation in political science, "The United States and Okinawa: A Study in Dependency Relationship," 673 pp., City University of New York, was presented by Herbert Alexander Kampf in 1972. This thesis covers the period from the invasion of Okinawa in 1945 to the Japan-U.S. Joint Communique of November, 1969, and studies the issue of "American rule over an Asian people." Two questions emerge here, namely, how a foreign country whose sole purpose was to utilize the strategic capabilities of the Ryukyu Islands--i.e., the U.S.--gained the assent of the Okinawans, and what sort of influence this "American-style foreign rule" exerted upon the Okinawans. In pursuing these questions, the author divides his thesis into broad areas such as legal and political issues, the economic aspects of political problems, various problems created for Okinawans by the American military presence, the reversion movement, and the decline in U.S. authority. He then presents an analysis of American actions, the Okinawan

response, and the interaction between both sides.

According to the author, even though America was the actual administrator of Okinawa, ultimately sovereign power rested in Japan, and although a military government was a strategic necessity, outwardly, at least, the U.S. had to profess a civilian government. In addition, democracy being America's fundamental ideology, the U.S. attempted to foster democracy in Okinawa, but at the same time, it had to keep the people away from the very self-government which is the unavoidable hallmark of democracy. Ultimately, the civilian system which the U.S. set up in Okinawa led to the downfall of the U.S. administration of Okinawa. The author lists and substantiates three fundamental defects of the U.S. administration of Okinawa, namely, (1) the influence of the American tradition on U.S. policy, (2) conditions inherent in alien rule, and (3) problems caused by exclusively military interests. With regard to the reversion movement, he holds that economic dependence was the foremost reason why Okinawa, albeit reluctantly, remained under U.S. military rule for over twenty years. But since U.S. economic aid to Okinawa was more accidental than planned, the Okinawans gradually reached the point in the sixties when they were unable to count on it. Moreover, as Japan, which served as yardstick for the Okinawans in everything, came to be more liberal politically and more prosperous economically, the degree of political freedom and the economic advantages the American military could offer became completely insignificant.

For a thesis of this type, 673 pages is somewhat lengthy and quite intimidating for anyone contemplating reading it, but Kampf's



dissertation is skillfully put together, well-balanced, and readable. The author presently teaches political science at Finch College in New York State, and has contributed an article entitled "The Resolution of the Triangular Dilemma: The Case of the Okinawa Reversion," to *Asia Forum*, April-June 1972, pp. 37-48. He points out that there is a three-way dilemma in the reversion of Okinawa involving the U.S., Japan, and Okinawa, and urges that this be resolved by providing Okinawa with economic aid, by speedily returning Okinawa to Japan, and by the U.S. taking Japanese and Ryukyuan needs into account. He also gives much credit to the general populace for their role in the reversion.

Mark Selden, professor of history at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, has written two articles in quite a different vein. These are "Okinawa in the American Empire," *Monthly Review*, March 1971, pp. 35-49, and "Okinawa and the United States: Security through Imperialism," in Selden, ed., *Re-making Asia*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1974, pp. 279-304. Both articles voice severe criticism of the U.S. administration of Okinawa. Selden points out that aid to Okinawa has always been first and foremost for the benefit of the U.S. troops stationed there, and that this aid notwithstanding, the Okinawan standard of living is much lower than the Japanese.

One work deserving of special notice is *Flora of Okinawa and the Southern Ryukyu Islands*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C., 1976, by Egbert H. Walker. This folio-sized volume numbering 1,159 pages is the life work of a man whose career was devoted to Asian botanical research.

On the masters level, Charles L. Clark of California State

University at Long Beach has written a thesis entitled, "The Okinawan Sugar Industry: Some Effects of Government Activity on Industrial Location and Economic Development," California State University, Long Beach, M.A. 1975, 237 pp. I have not yet had a chance to review this. Another M.A. thesis, entitled, "Okinawan Classical Music: Analysis of Vocal Performance," University of Hawaii, 1976, 295 pp., was presented by Etsuko Higa, an Okinawan student at the University of Hawaii. Research on Okinawan music has a tendency to turn subjective, but Higa keeps her academic perspective throughout and furnishes a solid body of information as well. It is one of the few theses on Okinawan music in English.

There are a number of Okinawa-related doctoral dissertations presented to American universities during the 1970s which I have not yet seen but list here for reference. They include "A Generative Study of the Inflectional Morphonemics of the Shuri Dialect of Ryukyuan," Cornell University, 1973, 151 pp., by David E. Ashworth, who is presently at the University of Hawaii; "Perception of Culturally-Racially Mixed and Non-mixed Six-Seven Year Old Children in American Dependents' Schools of Okinawa," Michigan State University, 1975, by John Mall Chapman; "Teacher Education in the Ryukyu Islands," Michigan State University, 1973, 166 pp., by Kevin Albert Collins, and "Rural Houses in Terms of Family Living before and after 1945 in the Ryukyu Islands," University of Minnesota, 1973, 264 pp., by Misako Higa, who is now at Oregon State University at Corvallis.

#### Studies Undertaken by Okinawan Immigrants

The immigrants' thirst for knowledge about Okinawa has not



for the most part manifested itself in writings of a scholastic nature. Nonetheless, there have been a number of earnest efforts derived from the sweat and toil of the immigrant community. In Hawaii, which has the largest Okinawan population in the nation, the great majority of the early immigrants, living for the first time with people from other prefectures and of other races, were ridiculed on account of their language and customs which were different from those of the mainland Japanese.

The question of just what Okinawa signified developed into an active educational movement on the part of intellectuals in the Okinawan community. This led to the visit, in 1928, of Iha Fuyū, a pioneer scholar in the field of Okinawan studies, for a series of enlightening lectures on Okinawan history and culture. The movement went on to include editorial plans for a book to be titled *A History of Okinawan Settlers in Hawaii*, sponsored by the Okinawan Association of Hawaii, but with the outbreak of the Pacific War, this plan came to naught.

With Okinawa devastated by the war, and with the U.S. military government continuing in control, for the duration of the U.S. occupation, the concern of Okinawans in Hawaii centered around the current political and economic situation in Okinawa. When the U.S. military occupation of Okinawa finally came to an end in 1972, there was a natural resurgence in interest in basic questions about Okinawa. When I first inaugurated a non-credit course in Okinawan history at the University of Hawaii in 1974, the response was overwhelming, with the number of students always exceeding the anticipated enrollment. With this encouragement, a 3-credit course in Okinawan history

has been offered since 1979 as a part of the regular curriculum. At present, it is the only course in Okinawan history taught at a U.S. university. In addition, Dr. William P. Lebra, professor of anthropology, University of Hawaii, teaches a course in Okinawan culture, while in the summer of 1980, Ruth Adaniya taught a course on the history of the Okinawan immigrants at Kapiolani Community College. Professor Hokama Shuzen of Hosei University, Tokyo, delivered a favorably received series of community lectures on "The Language and Literature of Okinawa" during the spring term at the University of Hawaii. I have travelled to Hilo, Maui, and Los Angeles to deliver lectures on Okinawan history, and have also presented a series of talks on Okinawan culture and Okinawan immigration which was aired from May through November 1980 on radio station KZOO. From June 1980 to June 1981, the *Hawaii Pacific Press* carried my series of lectures entitled, "History of the Okinawan Immigration to Hawaii." It is apparent from the foregoing that there is a high level of interest in Okinawan Studies within the Okinawan community in Hawaii, but due to the special nature of the immigrant community as well as the problems of language and availability of source materials, actual research has not proceeded abreast with this high level of interest. The only area in which Okinawan Americans are making any contribution to research is in the history of the immigrants, their own story.

The first of these efforts is *Gajumaru* [Banyan tree], by Paul Ryoshin Agena. This 80-page book, published in 1969, is an account of immigrants from Gushikawa-son in Nakagami, Okinawa. It is quite



well organized and also includes valuable source material. In 1971, Tetsuo Tōyama brought out a personal account of his life entitled *Eighty Years in Hawaii*. Tōyama started a magazine in 1912 entitled *Jitsugyo-no-Hawaii* [Business Hawaii] which he edited in a highly individualistic style, bringing upon himself both praise and censure. From its title, the book promises to be interesting, but the bulk of the contents consists of congratulatory messages from community celebrities interspersed with old magazine and newspaper articles, and it is disappointing that there is hardly anything in the book about Tōyama the man.

In 1967, Tarō Higa spent thousands of dollars of his own funds to produce a film commemorating the 65th anniversary of Okinawan immigration. This 82-minute color film, entitled "Hawaii ni ikiru" [Living in Hawaii], came as a surprise to everyone in the Okinawan community. Higa went on to publish *Imin wa ikiru* [The immigrants], a 560-page book, in 1974. This account centers on the Okinawan community in Hawaii and the history of the post-war Okinawan relief drive. It incorporates information on Okinawans in various countries in North and South America and serves as quite a useful reference book. In 1976, Ruby E. Kaneshiro published a collection of poems, *Kugani* [Treasure child], 14 pp. The young author says that she wrote the poems in order that children would not forget the spirit of Okinawa.

The year 1978 was encouraging, for it saw the publication of three books dealing with the Okinawan immigrants. The first, by Takenobu Higa, is a 511-page book entitled *Hawaii Ryukyu Geinōshi* [History of Ryukyuan accomplishment in Hawaii]. Frankly, this is

not an easy book to categorize or explain. In keeping with the Japanese title, the first 257 pages is an account of Ryukyuan music and dance as performed in Hawaii, but the remainder consists of a compilation of miscellaneous sources, for the most part gleaned from Japanese newspapers, which chronicle the Okinawan community in Hawaii. Higa's work is useful for the data it assembles, but had a little more care been taken in its compilation, such as clarifying the sources from which the articles were taken, it would have been a far more valuable contribution.

The second book to appear in 1978 was *Chatan-son-jin kai, 1927-1977*, 29 pp., compiled by Ronald Kaneshiro. This history of immigrants from Chatan-son exhibits one outstanding characteristic: whereas, to the best of my knowledge, all of the accounts of people from various villages, townships, and cities in Okinawa before and after the war were written in Japanese by issei Okinawans, this account of the Chatan-son immigrants is the work of nisei and sansei and was brought out in English. The membership of the Chatan-son kai is not without Japanese-speaking issei, but the fact that nisei and sansei published it in English marks a transition from issei to nisei and sansei.

Another book published in 1978 is *Imin no aiwa* [An immigrant's sorrowful tale], 53 pp., by Los Angeles resident Shinsei Paul Kōchi. Although the title is in Japanese, the text itself is in English. The book is a colorful account of the life of Paul S. Kōchi (b. 1889), chronicling his graduation from agricultural school in Okinawa, journey to Mexico, dangerous and illegal entry into the United States, and his life up to the present.



*Gajimaru no tsudoi* [Under a banyan tree], 240 pp., was published in October 1980 as a project of the Gajimaru-kai, a Honolulu group whose membership comprises mainly issei Okinawan-Americans. The group entrusted me with the compilation of this book, a collection of twenty-five biographical sketches of Okinawan issei. Documents pertaining to the immigration are fairly scarce in Hawaii, and accounts of the issei's experiences are very important as basic preliminary sources in any attempt to write a history of the Okinawan immigration. It is generally thought, for instance, that Okinawan immigration to Hawaii began in 1900. Formal immigration did indeed begin then, but interviews with issei immigrants confirmed that Kisaburo Kawakami, father-in-law of Mrs. Yoshiko Kawakami, lived in Hawaii since 1895, when he arrived as a crew member on a visiting Japanese ship.

The most recent contribution to research on this subject is *Uchinanchu: A History of Okinawans in Hawaii*, University Press of Hawaii, February 1982, about 700 pages, conceived by the United Okinawan Association of Hawaii History Committee, co-chaired by Choki Kanetake and Mitsugu Sakihara, and produced in cooperation with the Oral History Project, Ethnic Studies Program, University of Hawaii. The United Okinawan Association and the State of Hawaii each contributed \$20,000 to fund this project. Some of the material consists of English translations of Japanese articles, but the greater part was written especially for this book. In addition to presenting a historical outline of immigration to Hawaii, the book gives accounts of the relationship between the *naichi* (Japanese from other prefectures) and the Okinawans, the activities and

accomplishments of Okinawans in various fields, and contributions made by various Okinawan groups, and it also includes oral histories based upon interviews with sixteen issei Okinawans from all islands and from all walks of life. Most of the contributors are nisei or sansei writers, some of whom are associated with the University of Hawaii. The appendix contains a table of statistics on Okinawan households. Although in the past statistical figures on immigrants from various prefectures have been largely a matter of conjecture, this statistical survey is both extensive and scientifically prepared. *Uchinanchu* differs from previous work in this field in that it is the first project accomplished through the cooperation of the University and an immigrant association.

Although not falling within the preceding categories, the *Hawaii Pacific Press*, a monthly paper started in November 1977 and edited by Kazuo Nakamine, has been very instrumental in encouraging interest in Okinawa and furthering a sense of solidarity among Okinawan-Americans. *Okinawan Cookery and Culture*, December 1975, 187 pp., compiled by the Okinawan women's group, Hui O Lau-  
lima, serves to extend an appreciation of Okinawan cooking to people of other nationalities. In the realm of the arts, Harry Nakasone and Yoshino Majikina have been teaching Okinawan music and dance, respectively, for many years in the Music Department of the University of Hawaii. The Majikina Honryu Hawaii-Okinawa Joint Festival of the Arts presented a memorable concert on August 19-20, 1977, at Blaisdell Concert Hall in Honolulu. This concert was videotaped, and two tapes, running over five hours, were presented to the University of Hawaii Music Department and



to the Hawaii public television station. The following year, on May 3, 1978, a recital was held in honor of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of Yoshiko Nakasone's Studio of Okinawan Dance, completely captivating the audience of 1300 guests which gathered in the Farrington High School auditorium in Honolulu. Okinawan culture, which had been transplanted to the rustic plantations of Hawaii, seems to have burst into full bloom.

Two conferences dealing with the history of Okinawan immigration in Hawaii were held in 1980. A "Cross-cultural Awareness Seminar on the Okinawan Experience" was held April 23-25 at the East-West Center, and the University of Hawaii Sociology Department and the Hawaii Multi-cultural Center sponsored the Hawaii Conference on Ethnic History on May 15-17, which included a panel on the "Asian Experience," with myself as one of the panelists. Both of these gatherings were quite animated, with discussion turning to questions such as, "Are we Okinawans, or Japanese from Okinawa prefecture?" and "Did the Japanese discriminate against the Okinawans, or did the Okinawans set themselves apart?"

#### Articles in English-language Magazines

Lastly, I would like to introduce articles relating to Okinawa which have appeared in general circulation English-language magazines. I specify English-language rather than U.S. because occasionally articles appear in English-language magazines published in Japan for the overseas reader. As shown in the preceding table of Okinawa-related articles, 1972 registered by far the greatest number of articles, followed by 1971 and 1975, with the incidence dropping dramatically thereafter.

The most common topic by subject category was the reversion of Okinawa to Japan, followed by EXPO '75, and then by articles concerning petroleum refineries in Okinawa. In the areas of culture, education, and society, the only articles were on *bingata* fabrics and the problem of mixed-blood children.

Articles concerning the reversion can be classified under six main types. These are (1) Okinawa under the U.S. military administration, (2) the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and Okinawa, (3) Okinawa as seen from the U.S. perspective, (4) Okinawa as viewed by the Japanese government, (5) Okinawa as seen by Okinawans, and (6) Okinawa as seen by all three parties--the U.S., Japan, and Okinawa. In addition to Selden's previously mentioned articles dealing with the first topic, i.e., Okinawa under the U.S. military government, Thomas M. Klein has contributed an article entitled, "The Ryukyus on the Eve of the Reversion," which appeared on pages 1-20 of the Spring 1972 issue of *Pacific Affairs*. Klein formerly headed the Department of Trade, Enterprise, and Finance in the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyus. He holds that at the time of the reversion, Okinawa was very advanced economically in terms of finances, transportation, and the technical proficiency of its workers, and so should be able to fit smoothly into the Japanese economic system. In the course of dealing with numerous problems with the U.S. Army administration, however, the Okinawans have acquired a high level of political awareness and an independent spirit, so that getting along with the Japanese politically will not be an easy matter. In his high opinion of Okinawa's political competence and the Okinawan economy, Klein stands in marked contrast to Professor



Sheldon.

Three articles appeared on the topic of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and Japan: "The U.S.-Japanese Treaty Crisis--U.S. Troops Stationed in Japan and Okinawa," by Robert Epp of UCLA, *Current History*, April 1970, pp. 202-8, 243; "Japan's Decision in 1970 and Unarmed Neutrality," by Masatsugu Ishibashi, *Contemporary Japan*, March 1970, pp. 217-27; and "On Okinawa and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty," by Eki Sone, *Contemporary Japan*, March 1970, pp. 45-55. Epp's article discusses domestic and international issues related to the ratification of the security treaty, and concludes that reformist political parties will gain in influence as long as the Sato Government continues to adopt an unclear position on the usage of the bases in Okinawa and as long as the people remain opposed to rearmament. Ishibashi discusses the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and the reversion of Okinawa and states that Japan must accept responsibility for defending Okinawa after the reversion. Sone states that with the advances in nuclear warfare technology, the U.S. no longer needs to store nuclear arms in Okinawa, and holds that Okinawa, like mainland Japan, should have pre-established non-nuclear emergency defense guidelines.

On the U.S. view of the Okinawan problem, Professor Douglas H. Mendell of the University of Milwaukee presented a paper at the meeting of the Association for Asian Studies held in New York in March 1972 entitled "American Policy on Okinawan Reversion," which was published in *Asian Forum*, January/March 1972, pp. 12-21. He bitterly denounced the U.S. policy as being closed and secretive, and charged the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyus with

withholding knowledge of the actual conditions in Okinawa from the American people. Hong N. Kim examines the Okinawan problem from the Japanese perspective in an article entitled "The Sato Government and the Okinawan Problem," *World Affairs*, Winter 1971, pp. 220-33. Kim explains the Sato Government's method of coming to grips with the Okinawan problem, a method with which most Japanese are satisfied, which in turn guaranteed ratification of the 1970 security treaty, assuring Japan's larger role in maintaining peace in the Far East in the future. On the Okinawan side, Mikio Higa, then professor at the University of the Ryukyus, presented a paper at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in New York in 1972, later published in *Asian Forum*, January/March 1972, pp. 1-11, entitled "The Reversion Theme in Okinawan Politics." He discusses the historical course of the reversion movement, its transition from a political party base to the *Okikyoso* (Okinawan Teachers Association), its popularization, and how the slogans shifted from stressing the Okinawans' identity as Japanese to the problems of human rights and military bases in Okinawa. He concludes that the bases will be a problem after the reversion as well. Herbert Kampf's article introduced earlier, "The Resolution of the Triangular Dilemma: The Case of Okinawa Reversion," discusses the issue from all three sides, U.S., Japan, and Okinawa.

After the reversion, only a few brief articles on Okinawa appeared in English. At the time of the reversion, an article by Philip Dion entitled, "Return to Okinawa," appeared on pages 19-21 of the May 20, 1972 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Dion's critique can either be taken seriously or as an exercise



in irony; he states that Okinawa attained economic prosperity under the U.S. administration, suggests that with the return to Japan, it will become the impoverished prefecture it was before the war, and concludes that Okinawa's economic troubles are just beginning. The following year, an article entitled "Okinawa: The First Year" appeared in the July/September 1973 issue of the *Japan Quarterly*, pp. 247-251. The article points out that people in Okinawa felt that the participation of Japanese Self-Defense Force personnel in the national athletic meet held in Okinawa that year only served to arouse bitter anti-war sentiments among the populace, and while acknowledging that Okinawa had prospered temporarily with the influx of Japanese money following the reversion, it expresses doubts about Okinawa's future once Okinawan businesses were absorbed by the huge Japanese conglomerates and the projects initiated by the central government were completed and Japanese money no longer entered the Okinawan economy. In 1975, Professor Mendel published an article based on public-opinion polls and interviews entitled, "The Okinawan Reversion in Retrospect," *Pacific Affairs*, 48 (1975), 398-412. He discusses how the Okinawans perceive themselves, their expectations of the Japanese government, Okinawa's economic setbacks after the reversion, and the issues of military bases and the Japanese Self-Defense Force. He concludes with a recommendation that the bases be cut back, or that they be moved to relatively underpopulated areas in northern Okinawa or on other islands.

Two articles appeared on EXPO '75: "International Ocean Exposition, Okinawa, Japan 1975," *Japan Journal*, October/November 1975, pp. 18-102, and "Surprise World's Fair--Okinawa's Expo '75," in

*Sunset Magazine*, September 1975, pp. 46-51. In an article entitled "Okinawa Expects Two Million Visitors to See Expo '75," *Nation's Business*, September 1975, pp. 79-80, the magazine's editors take an optimistic view of the economy, stating that with the Okinawan economy expected in the future to derive 30% of its income from tourism, 25% from U.S. and Japanese defense expenditures, 30% from other government expenditures, 10% from industry, and 5% from fisheries and agriculture, the area presents a very attractive opportunity for investors. Tracy Dahlby, however, in "Expo: The Doubtful Drawcard," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 29, 1975, p. 49, predicts that Expo will be a failure and takes the very pessimistic view that Okinawa's economy will continue to prosper only up to a certain point as a part of Japan's capricious policy.

Several articles were published on the petroleum industry and public utilities, but as these need no comment, I shall merely list them here. They are: "Esso and Gulf Revamp Interests in Okinawa," *Oil and Gas Journal*, January 31, 1972, pp. 68-69; "Big Okinawa Terminal in Full Operation," *Oil and Gas Journal*, March 22, 1971; "Computer Trains Okinawan Refinery Operators," *Oil and Gas Journal*, February 7, 1972, p. 81; "Esso's Okinawan Refinery Takes On Japanese Partners," *Chemical Marketing Report*, June 5, 1972, p. 13; "Sumitomo Buys Stake in Refinery in Okinawa to Meet Naptha Need," *Chemical Marketing Report*, June 26, 1972, p. 43; and "Two Treatment Plants Close Okinawa's Sewage Gap," *Engineering News*, December 23, 1971, p. 21.

R. Levenback's "Biracial Children in Okinawa," *Christian Century*, November 14, 1972, pp. 1156, 1158-9, is the only article on



the subject of social problems. Of approximately 3,000 mixed blood children, 89% do not have fathers living with them. Sixty percent of the fathers are Caucasian, 30% Filipino, 4% Negro, and 6% other races or nationalities. The basic problems of mixed blood children center around citizenship and education. The author suggests adoption, the establishment of a world children's fund, and cultural and educational interchange between the U.S. and Okinawa as methods to help resolve these problems, concluding, however, that there will be no fundamental solution until the complete withdrawal of the U.S. military.

Turning to Okinawan culture, an article entitled "Okinawan Beauty in Bingata" appeared on pages 28-29 of the January 1972 issue of *The East*. The article discusses the historical background of *bingata*, and how it is made and dyed, praising *bingata* as an outstanding attainment of the dyer's tradition in Japan.

In the field of architecture, there is an article entitled, "Nakijin Village Center," *Japan Architecture*, February 1978, pp. 53-61. The community center in Nakijin village, which received an award from the Minister of Education, is cited as being modern in design, yet in harmony with its natural surroundings.

Finally, on the subject of archaeology, a team of archaeologists from Canada and Okinawa--Richard Pearson, Susumu Asato, Gregory Monks, and David Pokotylo--produced "Excavations on Kume and Iriomote, Ryukyu Islands," *Asian Perspectives*, XXI, No. 1 (1978), 7-26, which, among other things, places emphasis on littoral resources and increasing specialization in their utilization in Ryukyu during the late Prehistoric period. This particular article is not among the

publications reviewed in the aforementioned ten-year survey.

### Concluding Remarks

The outlook for the future of Okinawan Studies in the United States is uncertain. It is readily apparent, however, that from the beginning, U.S. interest in Okinawa has been strongly military and political. As a result, as we have seen in this article, the overwhelming majority of articles and dissertations on Okinawa written by U.S. scholars during the 1970s were in the area of political science. From this we may surmise that now that the U.S. no longer administers Okinawa there will unavoidably be a lessening of interest in Okinawa. The outlook in this sense is unfortunately pessimistic, but brighter news is not altogether absent. Many quarters, both inside and outside of Japan, have expressed the hope that the University of Hawaii's Hawley Collection of Okinawan documents would be reprinted to encourage Okinawan Studies in Japan and overseas. Finally, in 1980, an editorial committee was formed for this purpose consisting of Robert Sakai, Professor of History and Dean of Summer Session, Mitsugu Sakihara, Associate Professor of History, and Masato Matsui, senior specialist in charge of the Japanese collection at the Hamilton Library. In March 1980, the committee published all twelve volumes of the *Ryukyu kyōiku* [Ryukyu education] through Honpo Shoseki publishers in Tokyo. It is a journal of education in Okinawa from 1895 to 1905, an extremely important period for understanding modern Okinawa. With the addition of Manabu Yokoyama to the editorial committee, the second series, an eight-volume set entitled *Ryukyu shozoku mondai kankei shiryō* [Materials related to the issue of Ryukyu's



sovereignty] was published on September 20, 1980. The third series, *The Kobe Advertiser and Shipping Register*, January to June 1879, a set of the only known extant copies of the English-language paper published in the European community in Kobe, Japan, was re-published in two volumes on December 15, 1980. The fourth series, *Bōkyō: Okinawa*, published on February 10, 1981, comprises five photo albums of scenes and personalities of Okinawa in the early 20th century. The next publication contemplated at this time is to contain a collection of old maps of Okinawa. It is the committee's hope that this series of reprints making old materials generally available will contribute to a resurgence of interest in Okinawan Studies.

There is another optimistic prospect, namely, the steeply mounting interest in Okinawa (at least in Hawaii) among nisei and sansei Okinawans. This is not some temporary political infatuation, rather it is something deep and lasting derived from their own Okinawan origins. For this interest to amount to anything, however, something must be done about the dual impasse of language and inaccessibility of sources. It is my feeling that English-language translations of the basic materials relating to Okinawa are essential to overcome this problem. Once English translations are available, we may entertain the hope that not only Okinawan-Americans, but the community of U.S., Canadian, and European scholars, as well, will once again turn with interest to Okinawan Studies.

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Note: This article is a revised translation of Mitsugu Sakihara, "Amerika ni okeru Okinawa kenkyū no jōkyō," *Okinawa shiryō henshūjo kiyō*, VI (March 1981) 1-24. I would like to thank Jun Nakamura, librarian at Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii, for his assistance in gathering articles related to Okinawa from English-language magazines.